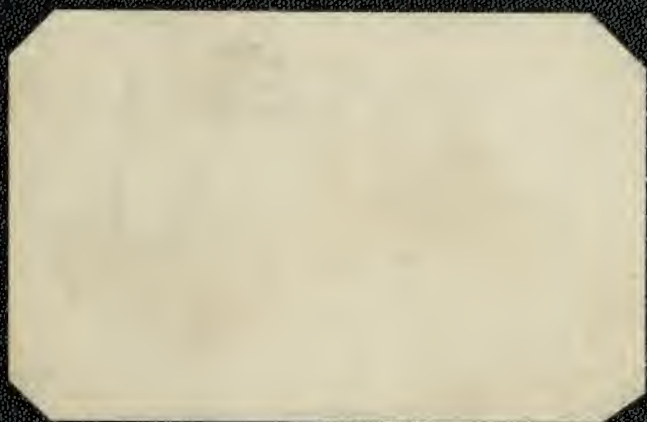


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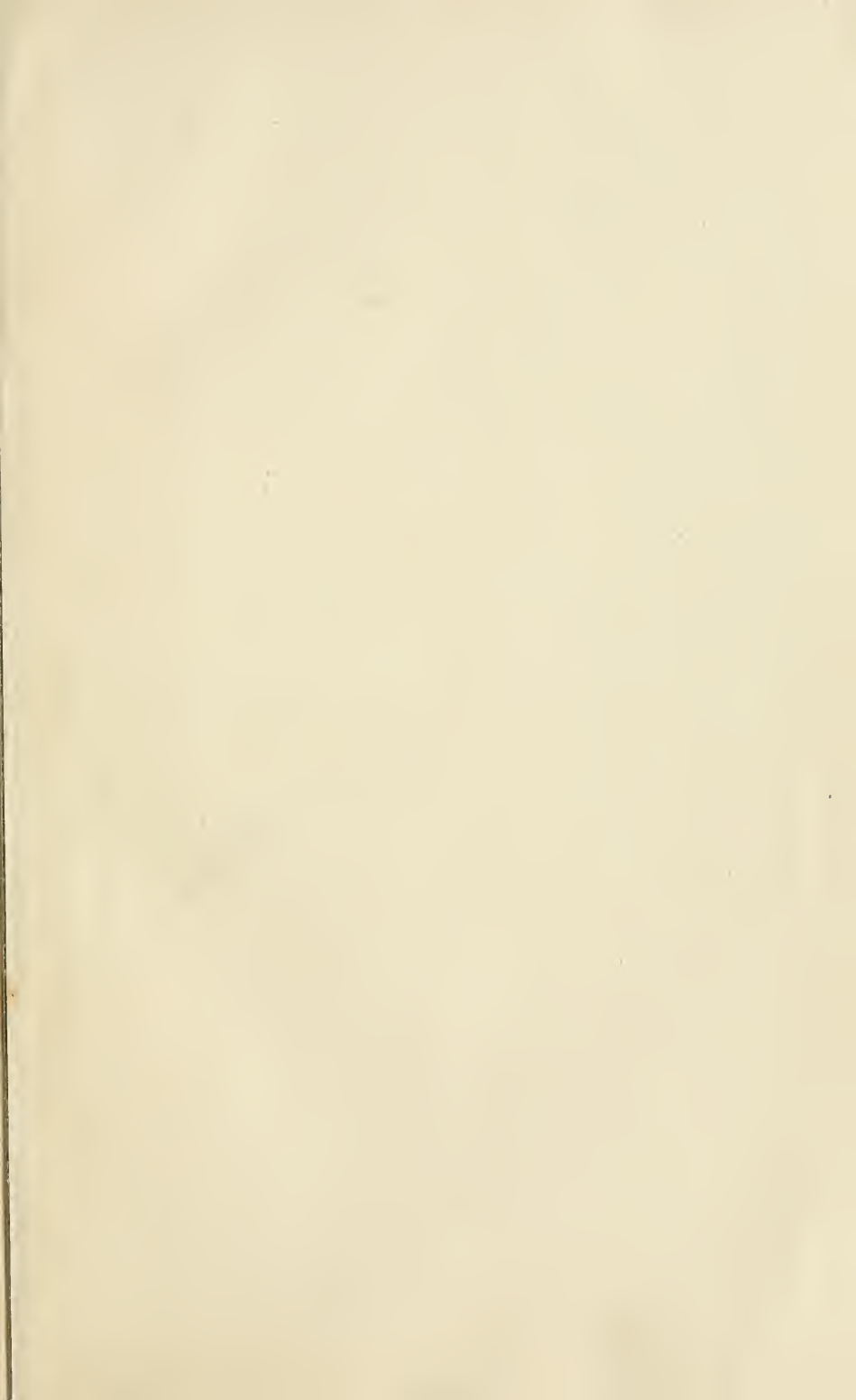
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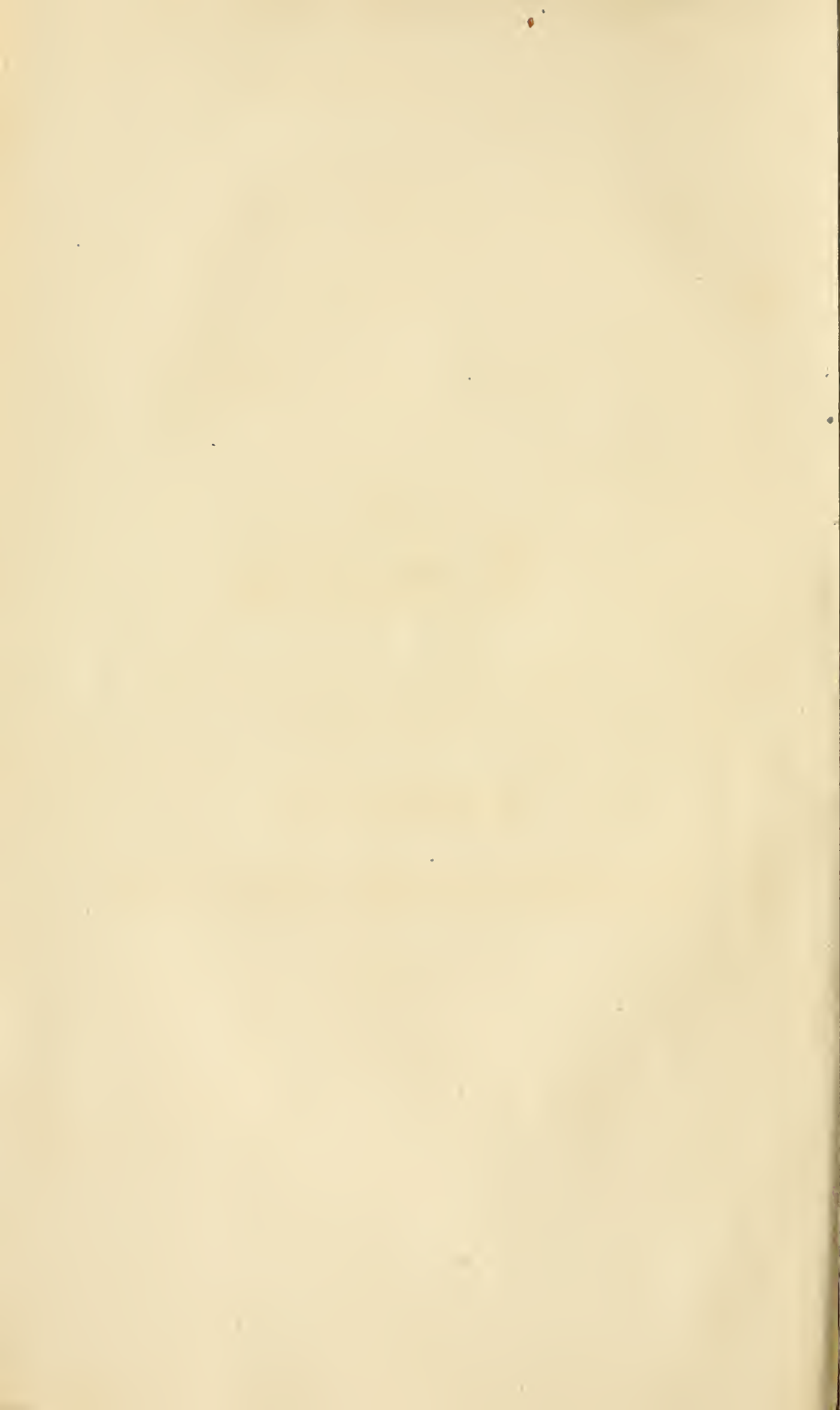


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PROCEEDINGS

OF

A MEETING

HELD AT

PRINCETON, NEW-JERSEY,

JULY 14, 1824.

TO FORM

A Society

IN THE STATE OF NEW-JERSEY,

TO COOPERATE WITH THE

AMERICAN

Colonization Society.

PRINCETON, N. J.:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,

BY D. A. BORRENSTEIN.

1824.

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PROCEEDINGS,

&c. &c.

IN pursuance of a Public Notice that had been given in the several News-papers, printed in New-Jersey,—

A large and respectable Meeting took place in the CHURCH, in the BOROUGH of PRINCETON, on Wednesday, July 14, 1824.

ON MOTION MADE AND SECONDED,

ROBERT FIELD STOCKTON, ESQUIRE,

OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY,

was requested to take the Chair; and on taking the Chair, opened the Meeting with the following Address.

THE promptness with which I accept this high honour, which you, my fellow citizens, have conferred upon me, arises not from any presumption of my own worthiness, but

from an unwillingness to slight in the least degree, the smallest mark of your esteem. The usual embarrassments which are experienced upon the first occasion of a young man's addressing a Public Assembly, are much increased by the peculiar circumstances under which I am called upon to fulfil the duties of your chairman;—and perceiving among this audience, some of the most learned and distinguished men, before whose age and experience it would better become me to be silent, I confess, my confidence has almost forsaken me, and my mind would surely sink under the weight of this exertion, did I not know, that all the deficiencies of the person addressing you, will readily be made up by the intelligence and sagacity of those, who hear him.

In conformity with the common practice upon such occasion, I beg your indulgence while I shall endeavour in the briefest manner, to give an outline of the design, commencement, and progress, of the AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR COLONIZING THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR OF THE UNITED STATES; and in aid of which this Public Meeting has been called; leaving it to be filled up by gentlemen, who are much more competent, and no doubt, prepared, to give to this matter a thorough investigation.

Slavery, with all its unprecedented atrocities, had, for many years, been the constant theme of reflection and discussion among the Philanthropists of the world; and in no country were their exertions, to put an end to that traffic, and to make amends for the mistaken policy, and cruel inhumanity of our progenitors, more zealous and sincere than in this, our own;—various had been the suggestions and plans of the friends of justice and humanity, to put a stop to that trade; and for the gradual abolition of slavery, throughout our country.—But no man was found sufficiently bold and able to lay before the public a well digested Plan, obviating the objections, which had

always been raised against this effort of benevolence ; (the greatest of which was, the letting loose upon the community of the United States, such a body of men, who had no important interests at stake, nor any common concern in the permanency of our Institutions;) until the Rev. Mr. Finley of this State, with the assistance of others, made known the present scheme of the American Society for Colonizing the free people of colour of the United States.—The remembrance of Mr. Finley's exalted virtues and steady perseverance in the paths of rectitude and honour and humanity, swell my bosom with emotions, not easily to be checked ; for to none were they better known, than to myself, having been one of his pupils—and may I not be permitted, on this occasion, to offer my humble but sincere tribute of respect, to the memory of one so great and so good.—His object was national, as well as humane and religious. The nation ought, and I have no doubt, will honour him. If those then, who are connected with him by no other tie than that of national pride, will respect and cherish his memory, where would you draw the limits to that ardent and enthusiastic regard, which every friend may be allowed to entertain for his character. I have said, he was a good man ; and as it is the highest eulogium, that can be bestowed upon any one, I will leave this subject, pleasing as it is, for the purpose of performing my duty ; and relieving you, as soon as possible, from the fatigue of hearing me, and be myself relieved from that perturbation of mind, which arises from the novelty of my situation.

It has been stated, that the objects of the authors of that Institution were national and religious ; but perhaps it will not be amiss, to be a little more particular and minute, as there appears to be some misunderstanding in that particular.

Their first and great object was a gradual Abolition of Slavery. They perceived the dangers, that would result from the liberation of slaves in any number, until some suitable place, beyond the limits of the United States, had been pre-

pared for their reception, and therefore proposed the Plan which is now in successful operation.

A second motive was, to reclaim the inhabitants of Africa from savageness and brutality. That vast continent is said to contain fifty millions of Inhabitants ; whose pleasures are sloth, and idleness ; their employments, rapine and murder ; their knowledge, treachery ; their government force, cruelty, and oppression, their religion, a blind devotion to the most profane and bloody superstitions ; and in truth, the whole of that immense population, vitiated and debased by the most profound ignorance, and unrestrained barbarism. To civilize this degenerate people, to change their ignorance into knowledge, their horrible superstition into a right understanding of the Christian Religion, their treachery into good faith, and their slothfulness into industry, are among the results contemplated by the proposed Plan of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

A third motive that was strong in its operation upon the mind of Mr. Finley and his coadjutors, was the suppression of the Slave Trade. I need not detain you by any comment upon the wickedness and barbarity of that Trade ; it has been so often the theme of just reproach and severe invective, and all Christendom seems to have settled down upon the principle, that such traffickers are "hostes humani generis." But as the first founders of that Institution have so often been accused of extravagant and visionary expectations, it may not be unbecoming in me to state, how it was expected that the Establishment of a Colony on the Coast of Africa, would operate upon that trade.

All the inhabitants of that region, south of the Great Desert, have been for ages constantly supplied with rum, tobacco, pipes, &c. &c. &c., through the instrumentality of the Slave Traders ; and having been led to believe, that their supply of those articles, depended entirely upon the prosecution and prosperity of that trade, they are continu-

ally engaged in wars for the purpose of its continuation.—They have been led from the cultivation of their rich and luxuriant soil, and even from the chase, the legitimate pursuit and manly employment of savage life, to the unnatural practice of speculating in human blood!—No rational mind can believe, that the feelings of relation, and friend, and tribe, and countryman, could have been originally denied to this people; but rather, that it had been paralysed by the prospect of gain, the removal of which powerful principle would restore to the African in full force, his natural regards and friendships.—It was therefore believed, that the establishment of a Colony in the heart of the Slave Trade, would lead them to the cultivation of the land and the ardour of the chase, as a more quiet and easy mode, of obtaining those articles of European luxury, which have become almost necessary to their existence.

Such were the views and intentions upon which the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour, of the United States, was instituted. This scheme had no sooner been promulgated, than an attack was made upon the purity of its principles. It was thought by the inhabitants of the Southern Section of the Country, to be a Plan, generated in the North, to operate against the interest of the South; and in the North, it was thought a Southern project, to get rid of the Free Blacks; only that they might tighten the chains of Slavery. Steady perseverance, however, overcame misrepresentation and calumny, and they both yielded to the irresistible force of truth and humanity. A cry of visionary enthusiasm, was, however, still heard. The constant exclamation was, “show us that your plans are feasible; convince us that the thing can be done.”

The Managers went to the experiment, elated with hope and joy, and, after great exertion, fitted out an expedition, to the Island of Sherbro. Intelligence from that expedition, of a most disastrous nature, soon reached the United States.

It wrung the heart of every friend of the Society, and checked for a time (until the true cause of that melancholy misfortune could be clearly understood) the exertions of the Managers.

Although it was necessary at that time, that the cause should be explained, it is not so now, in the present advanced state of the Society's affairs. For the pestilence of the Island of Sherbro, or the treachery and infamy of Kezzell, has no more to do with the climate of Montserado, or the character of its inhabitants, than a Southern fever can affect the State of New-Jersey. I will not, therefore, dwell upon that scene of lamentation and grief longer, than to pay a proper respect to the memory of Mills and of Bacon and the others, who fell in the exercise of the most magnanimous and disinterested humanity. Their bodies are on the Coast, but their memories are embalmed in the hearts of their countrymen. May their names and their exertions be perpetuated, the one for praise, and the other for imitation.

On the first intelligence of this disaster, the whole Plan was denounced as impracticable, and without looking into the causes of that melancholy fatality, the opponents of the Institution would persuade, that the Almighty had placed impassible barriers to the civilization of Africa; and that, therefore, the scheme of the Colonization Society must fail. But, whence came this important conclusion, this would-be prophecy, this knowledge of the future. Was it the result of careful examination, and the deduction of sound philosophy? or did the great Jehovah let them into the secrets of His unfathomable designs? or was it written in the Sun-beams of the heavens? No:—they would not undergo the labour of inquiry and rational investigation; they were unworthy of inspiration, nor had they any knowledge of the future; but it was the inveteracy of prejudice, the violent effusions of hasty thought.

or a hat in exchange, and you will get the valuable productions of their rich and fertile soil.

As to the intellectual qualifications of the negro—it is unfair to judge of him in that respect, as he is here seen in a state of servitude. At the English Settlements upon the Coast of Africa, natives have been taught all the mechanic arts,—In Regent's Town young natives are making rapid progress in the Latin and Greek languages, who, six years ago, were wild and ignorant. It is found, they acquire a knowledge of the Arts and Sciences, with as much facility as any other people, and it is only here, in their state of degradation, that such a question has been agitated.

With regard to the expense of transportation, it is not by any means, so great as has been represented. I have the authority of a letter from Dr. Ayres, of whom I have before spoken, for stating, that the last company of one hundred and five persons, were taken out for twenty-six Dollars each; and when the prosperity of the Colony shall enable them to furnish a return cargo, it will unquestionably reduce the average price to a much lower rate; and in fact, a great many will be able to work their own passages as soon as a brisk trade shall be opened with the Colony.

In this manner of viewing the affairs of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of colour, of the United States; I think, you will yield your hearty assent, to the purity and philanthropy of its principles. For, you, no doubt, desire the Abolition of Slavery; and are anxious for the civilization of Africa; and cannot but rejoice in the destruction of the Slave Trade. I think also that you must be satisfied, that the climate is sufficiently salubrious, for our black population; that the soil is good; that the facilities for cultivation and improvement are great; that the intellect of the Negro, in a state of natural freedom, is strong enough; that the expense of transportation is not much; and finally, that the Plan of the American Society for Coloniz-

ing the Free People of colour of the United States, is not only practicable, but there is great probability, that, with moderate assistance from the nation, it will succeed to the utmost expectations of its first friends.

To appeal to your feelings upon an occasion like the present; and to offer inducements to a popular Assembly to aid in so good a work, presents a fine field for declamation. But, I believe, there is too much intelligence in this Meeting to bear with such presumption from me; and that all you require, is a fair understanding of the subject; to induce you to advocate with zeal, and alacrity, the views of the Parent Institution, and to form a Society, Auxiliary thereto.

ON MOTION MADE AND SECONDED,

PROFESSOR MACLEAN,

OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW-JERSEY,

was appointed Secretary of this Meeting.

THE CONSTITUTION, previously prepared, was then read by the REV. GEORGE S. WOODHULL.

A MOTION WAS MADE BY

JAMES S. GREEN, ESQUIRE,

AND SECONDED,

that it be adopted. Upon submitting the Motion, Mr. Green delivered the following Address.—

I RISE, Sir, to move, that the Constitution just read be adopted; and I cannot suffer the opportunity to pass without expressing my warmest approbation of a Plan, embracing

in it many manifest and important advantages both to our State and our Country. I do not expect to throw any new light on a subject, rendered already luminous by the most brilliant talents of the nation. I do not expect to add another thrill to feelings already warmed and excited by the most powerful appeals ; but you will indulge me, while I attempt simply to discharge what I conceive to be a duty, obligatory upon me on this occasion, as a citizen of New-Jersey and of the United States.

We all agree in one position—that Slavery can be defended on no rational ground whatever ; that it involves a violation of every law, human and divine ; that it is at war with all the best feelings of our hearts ; that the barbarities which have been inflicted upon the degraded sons and daughters of Africa, are an outrage upon the dignity and character of a human being.

It is known to you and to this respectable audience, that the detestable traffic with Africa in the bodies and souls of men, received its death-blow in the British House of Commons, on the memorable 2nd of April, 1792 ; when Wilberforce and Pitt and Fox united the force of their powerful and splendid talents, to remove from the national character its dark and bloody stain. Even those who were interested in this unhallowed commerce—even the agents of the West Indies, could not resist the strength of their arguments, or steel their hearts against the irresistible influence of their eloquence. The advocates of the Black Man's rights demonstrated that no political necessity, no consideration of private benefit, could justify its continuance for a single moment. We have not, therefore, to contend with this difficulty. The public mind is right on this point ; and Sir, by comparing the impediments which clogged the entrance of the path to the temple of benevolence, with those that we now meet with, we may find much to quicken and to animate us. We have not the embarrassments of a first effort ; we have the termination of our course clearly in

view; and we want nothing but patience and industry and perseverance, to reach the vestibule—to enter the building, and there to sit down and enjoy the rich banquet of feeling and reflection, which is always furnished by doing well. “Who,” says Wilberforce, “can tire in such a work. It repays itself; it fills the mind with complacency and peace. If it obliges us to be conversant with scenes of wretchedness, this is but like visiting a hospital from motives of humanity, where your feelings repay you for the pain you undergo.”

We all agree too, that we owe much to the children of Africa in the way of remuneration or recompense. Our fathers have contracted a great—an enormous *moral* debt—a debt that now incumbers and embarrasses our whole country; a debt that like a mighty incubus, is pressing to death the energies of the nation. Relief must be had; a discharge of this debt must be effected, or consequences absolutely ruinous will ensue. It is believed to be yet practicable to escape these consequences, if we exert ourselves with energy, and without delay. But it is high time to be up and doing; to examine into our situation; to call forth our best exertions in united efforts to avert the ruin that otherwise threatens us.

And now, Sir, I am prepared to say that the plan of colonization, on which we are met to deliberate, appears to me to offer the most eligible,—and indeed, so far as I can see—the only effectual mode of relief. The adoption of this plan will, I think, enable us in time to pay what we owe. It will form a sinking fund, by the gradual operation of which, this debt will be ultimately discharged, and we be released forever from its burden. You already perceive that the view which I take of this subject has regard, as much to our own interest as to the interest of the blacks. Such is the fact. The excellence of the plan proposed is, that it unites these interests; it makes them one and the same. I have no hesitation in saying that, for one, I would not advocate this plan, did I think

that we were adding another mite to the debt already contracted, or another cruelty to that long and disgusting catalogue of wrongs, at which the eye of the philanthropist weeps, and the heart of the benevolent sickens. I would not raise my voice in its praise, did I not believe, that the plan recommends itself by every consideration, consistent at once with the calls of humanity and the suggestions of policy; by the advancement of the black man's rights, and the white man's interest and easement. Let us, for a moment, bring this matter as near as we can to ourselves. Let us consider how New-Jersey is interested in this plan of colonization.—Will its adoption improve our situation? For unless we can demonstrate this, we shall, I fear, persuade but few to lend us their aid. To the State of New-Jersey, then, inquiring how her interests are concerned in this business, I will endeavour to give an impartial and candid answer.

We find by the Census of 1810, that her Slaves are numbered at more than ten thousand, and her free blacks at more than seven thousand. This number has increased since that period, and we find by the Census of 1820, that the black population of New-Jersey is more than twenty thousand. What a mass of ignorance, misery and depravity, is here mingled with every portion of our population, and threatening the whole with a moral and political pestilence. My answer then to the State of New-Jersey is, that this enormous mass of revolting wretchedness and deadly pollution will, it is believed, be ultimately taken out of her territory, if the plan of the Colonization Society be adopted. This is the special concern—and who will say it is not a most interesting concern—which the State of New-Jersey has in this great national affair.

Have you, Sir, ever looked at this domestic evil in the detail of its certain and deleterious consequences?—did you ever count the number, one by one, to ascertain and feel the danger, with which we are surrounded?

Here is a host of individuals, shut out by education or prejudice, from all social intercourse with the whites; entertaining no natural feelings of sympathy or kindness towards us; utter outcasts from all the highest privileges of free-men, and as to most of them, from all the decencies of civilization. No ray of joy lights up their countenance, no throb of delight heaves their bosoms, in view of the growing prosperity and importance of our country. It is no concern of theirs. It brings no advantage to them. It affords nothing to them that is cheering. As to those who are yet in Slavery, when the cloud of misfortune lowers upon the affairs of their masters, no distress is manifested—nay, I might rather say, that oftentimes a feeling of delight is created; and the thought crosses their discontented minds that the judgments of Heaven have revenged their wrongs; that the God of all the earth hath at last punished their oppressors.

Such is the character, I do not say of every individual, but yet certainly of the great majority of your black population. And are we, Sir, entirely safe, while we breathe the same atmosphere with this powerful and discontented horde? If intelligence should reach you, that three thousand men had landed on your shores, with the avowed intention of marching to this place, to burn your buildings, to murder the inhabitants, to plunder your property, what stir, what anxiety, what exertion would every where mark the village, and neighbourhood, and State; every man would be at his post, and the words ‘coward,’ and ‘traitor,’ would be marked in burning characters on the forehead of every one, who should refuse to join in the resistance. But for myself, I do verily believe, we have a more dangerous foe than this to contend with; a foe under the disguise of slave or servant; one who is admitted without reserve into the bosom of our families; one to whom we often commit the custody of our dwellings; one to whom we frequently confide the care of our children, and yet one who secretly and cordially hates and despises the hand that feeds and main-

tains him. We all know that a foe in disguise is more dangerous than an open enemy. Against the last we can march, meet, face, and conquer him. The other is silent; his approach is unobserved; and the first notice that we may receive of his hostile intention may be cries and dying groans, or the midnight-conflagration of our dwellings.

But it may be asked—is there not a prospect—that by education, and an increase of the immunities which the blacks already enjoy, their habits, and feelings may be improved? Alas, Sir, I am most unwillingly compelled to say, in reply, that every day's observation and experience teach us, that, with a few honourable exceptions, they degenerate in proportion as they are indulged. You may make them free, but you make them worthless.

By some this is thought singular, and not susceptible of an explanation. To me, the explanation seems easy. By the policy and habits of the country, the blacks are completely excluded from every post of honour and profit; they are denied all alliance with the whites, either in business or by marriage; they are almost shut out from every employment of a liberal character; in a word, they are hopelessly precluded from ever becoming distinguished in church or state. Now, by such means you destroy all the usual incentives to industry and emulation, and provident foresight, and even to virtue. The slave is a mere animal, robbed of all the nobler feelings of our nature, unmoved by the calls of ambition or the suggestions of prudence, and a freed negro, who must always be a proscribed individual, is really but little better. He is sunk below the level of the community around him, and he becomes the creature of the moment. You have left him no wish, but that of the present hour, to be gratified. If the day is past with him, and he has had meat and drink and cloathing; this is his all. Hence you find, with an ex-

ception here and there, that negroes are improvident, and careless; if free, working but little during the summer, and living by plunder and begging during the winter;—if slaves, no way attentive to the interests of their owners, and working more from the fear of correction, than the impulse of duty. It is not wonderful—it must be apparent—that the circumstances I have mentioned, must have a natural, unavoidable, powerful, and pernicious effect upon the whole of our black population.

How is it that a freeman—I speak now of a man who is truly and entirely free; the man who is admitted to all the rights and privileges of the citizen—how is it that such a man, with small capital, with little to begin with, amasses in a few years, sufficient property to place him above want? Why Sir, he rises early and sits up late; he works hard; and the money he earns he lays by, or employs it with prudence and caution in the business he has embarked in. He is encouraged to all this by the hope and wish, that his family may be placed on vantage ground; that his children may be educated; that plenty may smile around him; and that the evening of his days may not be overcast with the clouds of poverty and distress. Here is the obvious cause, why he so often rises from the plainness of mediocrity to the splendour of affluence. *He works for himself and saves for himself.* But the exact reverse of all this takes place with the slave; and in a great measure with him, who, while he is called a free man, is yet more than half a slave in reality. *He works for another and consumes for himself.* He has no motive to save. He is to derive no essential benefit from it. All he can receive is the support of animal existence; and of this he thinks he is certain. It is the interest of his master to secure him this. In a word, slavery is a soil in which industry, and generosity, and ambition, necessarily wither and die; and this takes place in every state which approaches slavery, just in proportion to the degree of approximation.

We have upon our statute book a law, which by a slow but certain process, is ultimately to emancipate the whole black population of our State. I allude to that law which declares every child born of a slave within this State, after the 4th July 1804, free,—completely emancipated; reserving to the owner of the mother an interest in its services for a limited period. This law has been in force for twenty years, and its silent but powerful operation may be observed by all, by comparing the Census of 1810 with the Census of 1820. By the first, the slaves of New-Jersey are numbered at 10,851, by the second at 7,557, exhibiting a decrease of 2,294 in ten years. The free blacks are estimated at 7,843 in 1810, and at 12,460 in 1820, making an increase of 4,617 in ten years.—Look abroad through the State, and but few, very few ancient negroes meet the eye. The most, if not the whole of them, have descended to the grave; and its silence has hushed forever their lamentations. But extend your view into futurity; look forward for twenty years to come, and recollect that your black population will then all be free—no longer under the chains of slavery; completely independant; with no other restraint than the law. Yes, and you will then have, without exaggeration, a black population amounting to at least twenty-five thousand individuals, and every one of them excluded by your laws from all participation in the government—made to bear a portion of its burdens, and yet allowed no part in the election of those who impose these burdens. This, it may be recollected, was the very ground of our complaint against Great Britain, which brought on the war of our Independence. There is intelligence enough among the blacks to be fully apprised of this fact, and at the period contemplated it will not fail to be urged. Yet the plea will not be admitted—and what will be the consequence? Refusal will beget resentment, and resentment will produce resistance to taxation, and resistance to taxation will bring in the civil authority to enforce the law, and the civil authority will eventually be resisted with arms by the blacks, and arms will be repelled with arms by the whites. Here is the natural process, by which we may be involved in all the evils of a civil and servile war—And

if such a war shall take place, it ought to be remembered that it will be with "a foe, whom no recollections of former kindness will soften, and whom the remembrance of severity will goad to phrenzy." You will not understand me as saying that this issue of things is *certain*, even if no measures are taken with a view to prevent it. But I declare to you, Sir, that I think it more *probable*, than many occurrences in which the negroes have actually been concerned within the memory of us all.

But perhaps there are those,—and there are I believe a few such in the State, who will reply to all this by saying, that they would remove the whole of these objections and obstacles at once, by admitting the blacks to a full and perfect participation of all the immunities, privileges, and honours, of the white population. This may be said, Sir, but I seriously doubt, whether there are three white persons in the State, who would really and truly act upon this plan. Nay, I seriously doubt, whether there is one white father or mother in New-Jersey, who would be willing, that a son or a daughter should contract marriage with the best educated negro, male or female, that now exists. And what do you think, Sir, of a black Governor, a black Chief Justice, a black member of Congress, a black member of the Legislature, a black Justice of the Peace, or even a black Lawyer. I appeal to you, and to every individual in this Assembly, whether the very naming of these things, does not excite feelings which demonstrate that they could not, at least for a long time to come, be realized among us. No Sir, they cannot.—Call it folly, to be frightened by the word *black*; prejudice to hate a black skin; the mere effect of education to separate this race so widely from ourselves. I admit it all. But still the fact is so, and you cannot help it. You must put the blacks by *themselves* and they must make a society of their own, if they are to be real freemen. Humanity, as well as justice, calls for this. For among the whites of this country, they will be treated for some generations to come, if not forever, as inferior beings.

It seems to me to deserve particular consideration, that the law to which I have already alluded, enacts, that no negro shall thereafter be removed or carried out of the State, except in particular cases—alone applicable to the owners of slaves who intend to remove permanently from New-Jersey; and then, upon such conditions as almost amount to a prohibition. Hence you perceive, that all our black population, with all its increase, is in a sort entailed upon us; and this in time will produce an evil too intolerable to be borne. Let not this be called a visionary speculation. Look at a few of the consequences of emancipating slaves, as they are already exhibited day after day before your eyes. Look into the streets of your village, and there—in the drunkenness, and quarrels, and riots, of worthless and idle negroes—you perceive in miniature, what you must suffer in a ten-fold degree, when the laws in question shall have had their full operation and effect.

There is another consideration suggested by the effect of these laws worthy of attention. I allude to our liability to support the blacks as paupers. At the period—not, as we have seen very far distant—when all our blacks will be free under the law as it now stands, and as I hope it will always stand, they are entitled to a support either in the township where they are born, or in that township where they have served seven years. In fact, they are placed by this law upon the same footing with the whites. The support in question is derived from funds, created by taxation, which will necessarily fall with its principal weight upon the whites; and from what we have already learned from observation and from the inspection of our pauper lists, it is not predicting too much to say, that twenty years hence we must, if no change of circumstances take place, support one half of this degraded population.

What is the fruitful source of pauperism?—This subject has engaged the talents and been submitted to the investigation, of some of the wisest and best men of the age.

And however they may differ upon minor points, they all agree in this, *that paupers increase in proportion to the ease with which relief is obtained*; and that those soonest apply for relief who have lost their pride and ambition; who have abandoned all sentiments of shame; whose character is gone, and who are only anxious to sustain their animal existence. And is not this the very description of your emancipated black population? You exclude them from your company and conversation, and by this you make them indifferent to your opinion; you shut them out from all places of profit and honour, and by this you make them destitute of shame. From general sentiment, or from prejudice, or whatever you may please to call it, they are precluded from that kind of intercourse and alliance, which gives birth to noble and elevated feelings—to that niceness and quickness of sensibility which spurns assistance, as long as personal exertion can secure a livelihood. You at once destroy the whole train of thoughts, feelings and affections, which now makes the list of your white paupers so moderate. There will be to the black, no harshness or humiliation in the name of *pauper*. His cheek will not burn when pointed at as the object of public charity: may I not rather say, that he will be quickened in his application for relief by the thought, that it is to come from the purse of the whites; that he is only to receive a small return, for the many labours and groans that his ancestors, as well as himself, have sustained and uttered in the bondage of their task-masters. Who does not perceive the effect of this consideration? Why Sir, I have myself heard a black declare that she would not work, because her master's estate or the public *must* maintain her.

Do not understand me as speaking against the laws to which I have alluded. They are humane and just laws; but I do say, that they offer a strong and powerful argument in support of the plan proposed. I do not wish them repealed, but in the march of improvement, let us adopt some measure to relieve ourselves from a burden which our humanity has imposed. Having done justice to the blacks, let us do jus-

tice to ourselves ; having purged our character of a moral stain, let us secure ourselves from danger ; having acted as Christians, let us be prudent as citizens ; let us do this, lest we cherish a serpent, which, after being warmed and invigorated by our kindness, may inflict, by its sting and poison, a dangerous and deadly wound.

It seems to me perfectly obvious then, that nothing short of an actual removal of the blacks from among us, will furnish relief to a dreadful disease, which slavery has brought on the body politic. Preventives, and sedatives, and alteratives will not do. Nothing but total amputation will effect a cure.

New-Jersey is then deeply interested in this matter.

I have already trespassed so long upon your indulgence, that I shall not detain you further than to answer very briefly, an objection or two that have been urged against the plan.

An opinion has prevailed, and prevailed much to the prejudice of the contemplated measure, that the whole of the country on the Coast of Africa, and more particularly, that part selected for the Colony, is little more than a barren waste, where vegetation seldom cheers the eye, where disease, in its most frightful form, meets every visitor, where there are none of the means for domestic comfort, and where there is no prospect of improvement. From the known force of these suggestions, the advocates of the plan are met with an argument, addressed to their hearts, and urged powerfully on all their humane feelings. They are told that to send the blacks to such a country, is to send them to their graves ; that while the advocates of the plan profess that they are advancing the cause of humanity, they are virtually sacrificing every thing that is dear, and sacred, and interesting to the blacks—that this country may be released from the burden of their support, but that it is at the appalling expense of their lives or at least of all their comfort ; that we give them freedom

only to render their situation ten times more dreadful. Now, if this be true, the plan ought to be abandoned at once, and abandoned for ever. But Sir, the information received in this country from sources that are beyond suspicion ; from men of the brightest honour and strictest integrity, and most unsullied truth ; from men who have embarked in this work of humanity from the purest motives ; from men who have visited the spot and were eye-witnesses to what they narrate—who have made accurate and close observations on the manners and customs of the inhabitants, on the soil, on the climate, the water and productions of the country—I say the information derived from such sources, proves beyond all contradiction, that Africa is not far behind other countries and other climes, in fertility of soil, in excellence of water, in salubrity of air, in variety of vegetation, in number of domestic animals—not in fine in any thing, which by proper culture and attention is essential to the convenience, comfort and support of life.

You, Sir, are among those, who have visited this region; and I appeal for the truth of my statement to your own personal observation ; I appeal to those present who have conversed with Dr. Ayres, the Agent of the Society, who but a few days since was at this place ; I appeal to the journal of Mr. Bacon, which is before the public ; and to the eloquent and luminous article in the North American Review. All these authorities, with others that might be named, bear out completely the justice of the statement that I have made.

Another objection urged against this plan is, that the negroes themselves do not possess either force of intellect or stability of character, to furnish proper materials for a regular government. But let it be observed, that the plan proposed is not to be understood as recommending the *immediate* emancipation of every black in the State, and raising him at once to all the immunities of a member of an organized government. We admit that to do this would indeed be, as has been said, “to let in the full light of freedom on his

eyes scarce unsealed from the scales of bondage and would be to set before the Slave, an advantage, which he is not competent to comprehend, which he would seize in imagination as the infant grasps at the object of his desire, without comprehending the difficulties in the way of its attainment." But the plan, we contemplate, furnishes an opportunity to those already prepared by instruction to enjoy in the land of their forefathers all the advantages of civil society, and to prepare others for these advantages as fast as shall be found practicable. We will, however, never admit that the blacks, when removed from the degraded situation in which they are placed, are destitute of those powers of mind necessary to constitute the members of a well ordered society. I appeal again, Sir, to your own observation on this point. Do they not, when the pressure is removed, possess as much elasticity of mind, as the whites? And may we not fairly attribute all their dulness and stupidity to their want of a proper stimulus, to their exclusion from all those excitements and encouragements which are found, and only found in a state of real freedom and under the advantages of a favourable education?

But I hear it objected, that this will take time. Yes, Sir, it will and a considerable time too; and for this very reason we ought to begin immediately. We ought not to abandon a measure of justice and benevolence because we may not live to witness its full accomplishment. Let those, who have not observed the long continued labours of the negroes' friend examine for a moment the little prospect of success that cheered him in his first attempts; and when he has done so, let him compare the effects of the first efforts with their results as at present exhibited. Why, Sir, the horrors of the prison ship, where the wretched negroes could scarcely breathe, were pleaded for, and stoutly defended, till the champion of the black man's rights, obtained their absolute prohibition. One grievance was redressed after another, till the blacks came at last to be treated in some measure, not as brutes, but as men. So it will be with this plan. Its benefits will be

progressive and at first perhaps small. You may send but few at first, but the number will increase year by year, and we trust, that we shall at length find exhibited in regard to our Colony, what was exhibited in regard to the first settlement of this country.

On the whole, I am satisfied, that this plan will ultimately succeed. All that it wants is a full understanding on the part of the public. If the feelings of an intelligent community receive the right direction, if they flow in a proper channel, they will, before long, reach the general government; the plan will become national property, and we shall see the people rising as one man to join in its advancement. Let us not then give up our efforts, but in the language of Pitt, "listen to the voice of reason and duty, and pursue the line of conduct they prescribe, and some of us may live to see the reverse of that picture from which we now turn our eyes with shame and regret. We may live to behold the natives of Africa *and her reclaimed children*, engaged in the calm occupations of industry, in the pursuits of a just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy, breaking in upon their land, which at some happy period in still later times, may blaze with full lustre; and joining their influence to that of pure religion may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent. Then may we hope, that even Africa, though last of all the quarters of the globe shall enjoy, at length, in the evening of her days, those blessings, which have descended so plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world!"

REV. DR. MILLER

then rose and said,

THAT after the truly interesting and eloquent addresses to which the Meeting had listened, he did not feel as if any thing he could say, would be likely either

to engage or to reward attention. He had risen, therefore, not with the design of saying a word himself on the important subject under consideration; but solely for the purpose of introducing to the Meeting a reverend and respected Gentleman then present—a Friend and accredited Agent of the American colonization Society;—who was on a journey, one object of which was the promotion of its interests;—and who, he hoped, would be so obliging as to make such communications to the Meeting as he should judge proper.—He referred to the Rev. GEORGE BOYD, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Boyd then arose and addressed the Meeting, and we have to regret, that we are unable to present the public with the interesting remarks and important suggestions made by him.

He was followed by

REV. DR. GREEN,

who addressed the Meeting as follows:—

MR. CHAIRMAN,

As I am not at present an inhabitant of this village, perhaps I ought not to open my lips on this occasion. But it has occurred to me that the subject under discussion is not one of merely local interest. It is one in which every citizen of the United States is, and ought to feel himself, deeply concerned. With your permission, therefore, I shall offer a few observations—and I intend they shall be but few—chiefly on a point which has not been touched by the gentlemen who have preceded me, and which in my judgment is worthy of attention.

It appears that there are two plans at this time before the public, for diminishing or drawing off the coloured popu-

lation of the United States. The one is, to colonize this population on the Western Coast of Africa ; the other is to add this population to that of a similar complexion, which is already organized into a form of government, in the Island of Hayti. I have not been able to see that these plans are at all inconsistent with, or necessarily hostile to each other ; and it is not without regret that I have observed that some of their friends, severally, have considered and represented them as militating. On the contrary, it has appeared to me really desirable, that there should be more places than one, to which the descendants of Africans, who leave our country, may betake themselves. It has appeared desirable—since we know that different individuals are influenced by very different views and motives—that there should be some option left to the emigrants, as to the place of resort which may best suit their various inclinations. To whatever place they go, they leave this country ; and the more numerous the places of refuge or expatriation, the greater probably will be the number that will leave us ; and thus a principal object of regard, with the favourers of both plans, will be obtained. Not Sir, that minds truly benevolent will be satisfied to rid this country of its coloured population, without any regard to the happiness or well-being of the emigrants. We have done them and their ancestors one flagrant injury already, in bringing them from their own country ; and no man of humanity can think with satisfaction of doing them another, in sending them from this. They ought never to be sent away, but by their own voluntary choice. We must point them to a place of retirement, which shall offer them so many advantages above what they can ever enjoy in this country, that they will gladly seek it for themselves. But the more places you open to their view, the more you will consult, as I have said, that variety of motive and propensity, the gratification of which constitutes happiness ; and which, the more it can be consulted, the more rapidly will voluntary emigration take place.

There is however, I admit, one consideration which may

and ought to have a deep influence on the real friends of the African race in this whole business. I have hinted at it already, and will now dwell upon it a little more particularly. Both Hayti, and the Settlement proposed at Liberia, on the African Coast, are places, the real state and circumstances of which can be known to our coloured people, only by information; and to give them false information, in regard to either, would be cruel and wicked in the extreme. If those who go to either, should find a place, exceedingly different from what had been represented to them here, and from which representation they had sought it as a place of permanent residence for themselves and their offspring, their disappointment would be grievous, and the guilt of those who had deceived them would be great. Intentional deception ought not to be imputed to the favourers of either of the plans contemplated. The characters of those who take a leading part in promoting both, should save them from any such imputation. But men often take a warm interest in a scheme before they have well examined it; and afterwards they see every thing through the medium of strong prejudice, and hence deceive both themselves and others.

Now, Sir, in regard to Hayti, we all know that it is much more contiguous to our own country than the Coast of Africa; the climate is represented as healthy; much of its soil is said to be very favourable to cultivation; and the officers of its chief magistrate are, in many respects liberal and alluring, These certainly are circumstances and considerations of a very favourable kind.

But let it not be forgotten that Hayti can never receive one third of the coloured population of the United States, if it were prepared to embark to-morrow; and therefore it is plain that this can never be the great reservoir, into which the streams of this population can empty themselves for a century to come. If other circumstances, therefore, were satisfactory, I would say, let those who choose to go to Hayti depart in peace, and as speedily as possible. The friends of

the African plan need not speak against this. Their plan is still just as necessary as if the other had never been conceived, and they ought to pursue it with just as much zeal and steadiness as if Hayti had no existence.

But I cannot forbear to say that there are some considerations in regard to Hayti, which appear to me to wear a very forbidding aspect. Of these considerations I shall mention only one, which I the rather select because, if I am not in error on the subject, it is grounded on a public and authentic document; and because, as a friend and minister of religion, I feel a deeper interest in it than in any other. You anticipate that it is a religious consideration to which I refer—It is so. And you will allow me to remark that every real friend of religion must regard its interests and concerns, as of infinitely greater moment than any which relate only to this transitory life. Christianity, in its genuine spirit is, in my estimation, decisively opposed to slavery, of every description and degree. Nor is it regardless of any of the temporal concerns of the human race. It seeks in every proper way to alleviate and prevent suffering, and to promote the happiness of mankind in the present life. It was the character of its divine Author that “he went about doing good.”—Doing good to the bodies as well as the souls of men. But still it is true, that real Christianity, considering time as bearing no proportion to eternity makes nothing of all the miseries and sufferings, or of all the prosperity and felicities of the “life which now is,” in comparison with those “of the life which is to come.” It views slavery itself as a transient evil, not of the highest importance to him, who, while he is a Slave, is still “the Lord’s freeman.” It necessarily results from this, that the real friends of religion, in providing for the emancipation and emigration of the children of Africa, will be most of all concerned for their spiritual welfare, in the desirable change of condition which they are about to realize. Now, if I have not mistaken—and I sincerely wish I may have mistaken—what the chief magistrate of Hayti has authorized his agent to say, on the subject of religion—he announces a restriction, to

which I know not how any practical Christian, any one who is sensible of the worth of souls and of his own supreme allegiance to his Saviour, ever can submit. The restriction to which I allude is couched in measured and guarded language, but yet it appears to come clearly to this—that the emigrants to Hayti may hold and act on their own religious creed without molestation, provided they do not endeavour to propagate their sentiments among others. To this provision it seems to me that no real Christian can consistently subscribe—at least not as a permanent rule of life. What, Sir, can a true disciple of the Redeemer see multitudes around him crowding, as he verily believes, to eternal perdition, and never say or do any thing to save them from “the wrath to come!” It is impossible. He will feel that he is sacredly bound, by a publication of the truth, by argument and persuasion, and by every friendly endeavour that he can use, to save them from the impending ruin.—Failing to do this, he would become a traitor to his Lord. But I fear that the very terms on which the emigrants to Hayti accept the offer of the Government, will forbid them to do this. In a word, I fear that they must either violate their engagements to the civil government, or their duty to God. Such a fearful dilemma as this, every conscientious man should use all his vigilance to avoid. Till therefore, something more explicit and satisfactory on the subject of religion is published by the government of Hayti, I see not how any pious black protestant can think of settling and bringing up a family in that Island; nor how any protestant minister of the Gospel, or professing Christian, can advise to such a measure.

As to a Settlement in the proposed colony on the Coast of Africa, those who have gone before me have said almost the whole that I could wish to be said. My friend from Philadelphia, in particular, with whom I have been favoured to be associated in other enterprises of benevolence, has given you that very view of this enterprise, which, otherwise, I might have endeavoured to exhibit. What he has said so well I will not attempt to repeat. Yet I may be allowed to remark

that almost from the hour in which I heard of this plan—and I heard of it from him in whose mind I fully believe it was first of all conceived, from the Rev. Mr. Finley of this State,—and a native of this village. The feature of the plan which has always struck and interested me the most, is the one on which my friend who has just spoken, has chiefly dwelt. Yes, Sir, what has all along interested me most deeply in meditating on this plan is the hope, and I think the strong probability, that the God “who seeth the end from the beginning,” and with whom “a thousand years are as one day and one day as a thousand years,” and whose prerogative it is to “make the wrath of man to praise him,” and to bring good out of evil, has ordained that the guilty conduct of Christians in enslaving the children of Africa, shall eventually be made productive of the richest blessings, which the inhabitants of that quarter of the globe have ever received from the Father of Mercies. I have hoped, and I do now confidently expect, that Christian nations—for Christian nations alone have done it—have been permitted to enslave the Africans, that ultimately, when Christians shall repent of their crime, and seek to repair the injury they have inflicted, by restoring to Africa her enslaved children—by restoring them in the character of freemen and Christians—these freemen and christians will be the instruments in the hands of God, to civilize and christianize that large section of the earth, which for so many ages has been sunk, and up to this hour is still sunk, in profounder depths of wretchedness, and degradation, and infernal superstition, than any other.

The desirable event which I thus contemplate, I with the more confidence expect will be realized, because if it takes place, it will I think be analogous to the usual order of the divine dispensations. In these dispensations the work of a God is often apparent in this—that while “men think not so, neither doth their heart mean so,” he is fulfilling his sovereign will, and carrying into effect his merciful designs. From the sure word of prophecy, we know that “Ethiopia shall stretch forth

her hands unto God," and "that all the ends of the earth shall see his salvation;" and therefore, that Africa shall yet be christianized.

But it seems almost impossible without a miracle, which we have no reason to expect, that it ever should be christianized except by Africans. It is true, as my friend has remarked, that the climate of Africa, though not unfriendly to our coloured people, is so fatal to white men that they cannot live in it long enough to carry on any protracted operations. Indeed I perceive that the waste of missionary life in the East Indies, which are less fatal to Europeans than Africa, is such, that the friends and supporters of missions there have become fully sensible that native converts must eventually be looked to, as the principle missionaries, and they are accordingly making strenuous exertions to educate them for this purpose. Native missionaries, moreover, when well qualified, are, on various accounts, more acceptable to their brethren than strangers, and can address them with more advantage from a knowledge of their customs and their feelings.

Africans must and will, at last, christianize Africa; and if my wishes do not wholly pervert my judgment, I see the process begun, in the Colonization Society which we are met to assist, by forming an auxiliary. A number of pious and well educated blacks, will be sent from this country in the first instance. They will educate others in Africa. Every missionary and almost every convert, will be a plant which will bring forth fruit a hundred fold. Under the divine blessing, and when "the set time" in the purpose of God to favour and build up Zion is fully come, the progress of Christianity,—of unadulterated Christianity—among the heathen and barbarous nations, will be far more rapid than has ever yet been seen. A century hence civilization may exist and Christian churches may be planted in every part of the African continent. Civilization and Christianity will go together, and mutually assist each other. They are indeed all but inseparable.

In no way can a rude and barbarous people be so effectually and so rapidly civilized, as by making them Christians ; and a portion of civilization is essential to the permanent establishment of Christianity in any community. What a happy, what a glorious change! when these sister blessings shall have shed their benign and renovating influence, over that extended moral waste—more desolate to a christian eye than any which nature has created there—which stretches from Cape Monserrado on the west, to Grand Cairo on the east; and from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope. Through this whole vast empire of Satan, civilization and Christianity shall yet scatter their innumerable and inestimable blessings! “The wilderness and solitary place shall be glad for them ; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing ; the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon, they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.—”

If I need an apology, Sir, for addressing you at much greater length than I intended when I began ; it is this—the subject, as it is apt to do, has made me forget myself : and if any think, that I have given to the subject too religious an aspect, I have to say, that different views of it have been presented by others ; that as it was religion which first operated to put an end to the horrible African Slave Trade, so I am persuaded that religion and its friends will be principally instrumental in colonizing and civilizing, as well as in Christianizing the country from which the unhappy slaves have been wrested. On the friends of religion, doubtless, must be the main reliance for the success of this cause; and they, I assuredly believe, will promote it with all their means and all their influence.

The CONSTITUTION, with some Amendments was then unanimously adopted.—After which the Officers of the Society were elected.

ON MOTION BY

GREENBURY W. RIDGELY, ESQ.

IT WAS RESOLVED,

That Captain Stockton be respectfully solicited to address a letter to the Managers of this Society, containing a full account of his visit to the Coast of Africa, together with such remarks on the Climate, Soil, Inhabitants, &c., of that country as he may deem important; and that this letter be published under the direction of the Managers.

Mr. R. briefly remarked that this motion was suggested by the very appropriate address with which the Meeting had been opened.—Captain Stockton had visited Africa—He aided in the selection and the purchase of our possessions at Monserrado—He has had as good an opportunity of becoming acquainted with that section of the African Continent as any man, perhaps, in America. We have but two formidable enemies, Sir, to encounter in this enterprise: *Ignorance* and *Apathy*.—Let the one be removed and the other shall be easily overcome. Let the history, the design, the resources, and the prospects of the American Colonization Society, be once generally known, and it must become popular in this country.—It cannot be otherwise. The information which Capt. Stockton is probably capable of affording should be scattered throughout this State; if possible, throughout the Union.—Such a communication as this motion contemplates, will, I am sure, be acceptable to every member of this Meeting. A request of this kind is perhaps the best method of procuring it. I hope that it will not be unpleasant to the gentleman, whom it personally concerns.

ON MOTION BY

REV. GEORGE S. WOODHULL,

IT WAS RESOLVED,

*That Five hundred copies of the Proceedings, &c. of
this Meeting be printed in the Pamphlet form.*

The Meeting was concluded with prayer by the
Rev. Dr. MILLER.

The following is a Copy of the CONSTITUTION,
as adopted, with a List of the Officers of the So-
ciety for the ensuing year.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

New-Jersey Colonization Society.

ARTICLE I.

THIS SOCIETY shall be known by the name of the
“NEW-JERSEY COLONIZATION SOCIETY.”

ARTICLE II.

The objects of the Society shall be, to circulate information among the inhabitants of this State, on the subject of COLONIZING THE FREE BLACKS OF THE UNITED STATES, and to cooperate with the PARENT INSTITUTION at the City of Washington.

ARTICLE III.

Any person paying One Dollar Annually, or Twenty Dollars at one time, to the Treasurer, shall be a Member of the Society.

ARTICLE IV.

The business of the Society shall be conducted by a Board of Managers, consisting of a President, six Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and twelve other Managers, to be chosen annually by the Society; any five of whom, convened in consequence of a regular adjournment, or by the call of the President, shall be a quorum to do business.

ARTICLE V.

The Managers may make their own BY-LAWS.—It shall be their duty to report annually to the Society—to correspond with similar Institutions—and to make use of such means as to them may seem expedient for the purpose of raising funds, and for diffusing information respecting the number, and situation of the Free Blacks in the United States—the situation of the Colonies on the Coast of Africa—the state of the Institutions that may be established from time to time for the education of Free Blacks—the progress of Civilization and Christianity on the Continent of Africa—and on all subjects that may be connected with the important objects that this Society have in view.

ARTICLE VI.

The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held on the second Wednesday in July, at 11 o'Clock A. M., at such place as the Managers shall previously direct.

ARTICLE VII.

Twenty Directors shall be appointed, who shall, at their option, meet with the Board of Managers, and vote in all matters that may come before them; and the Board of Managers are hereby authorized to fill all vacancies that may occur among the Directors, and increase their number at pleasure.

ARTICLE VIII.

This Constitution may be altered by a vote of the majority of the Members present at the Annual Meetings.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

PRESIDENT,

ROBERT FIELD STOCKTON, ESQ.

OF THE U. STATES NAVY.

Vice-Presidents,

JAMES S. GREEN, ESQ.

JOHN POTTER, ESQ.

L. Q. C. ELMER, ESQ.'

DR. JOHN T. WOODHULL.

GEN. JOHN FRELINHUYSEN.

WILLIAM W. MILLER, ESQ.

Treasurer,

ROBERT VOORHEES, ESQ.

Secretary,

PROFESSOR JOHN MACLEAN.

Managers,

DR. JOHN VANCLEVE.

RICHARD M. GREEN, ESQ.

MR. GREENBURY W. RIDGELY.

MR. DANIEL PENICK.

THOMAS WHITE, ESQ.

JOHN SIMPSON, ESQ.

PROFESSOR CHARLES HODGE.

REV. GEORGE S. WOODHULL.

MR. GEORGE SHERMAN.

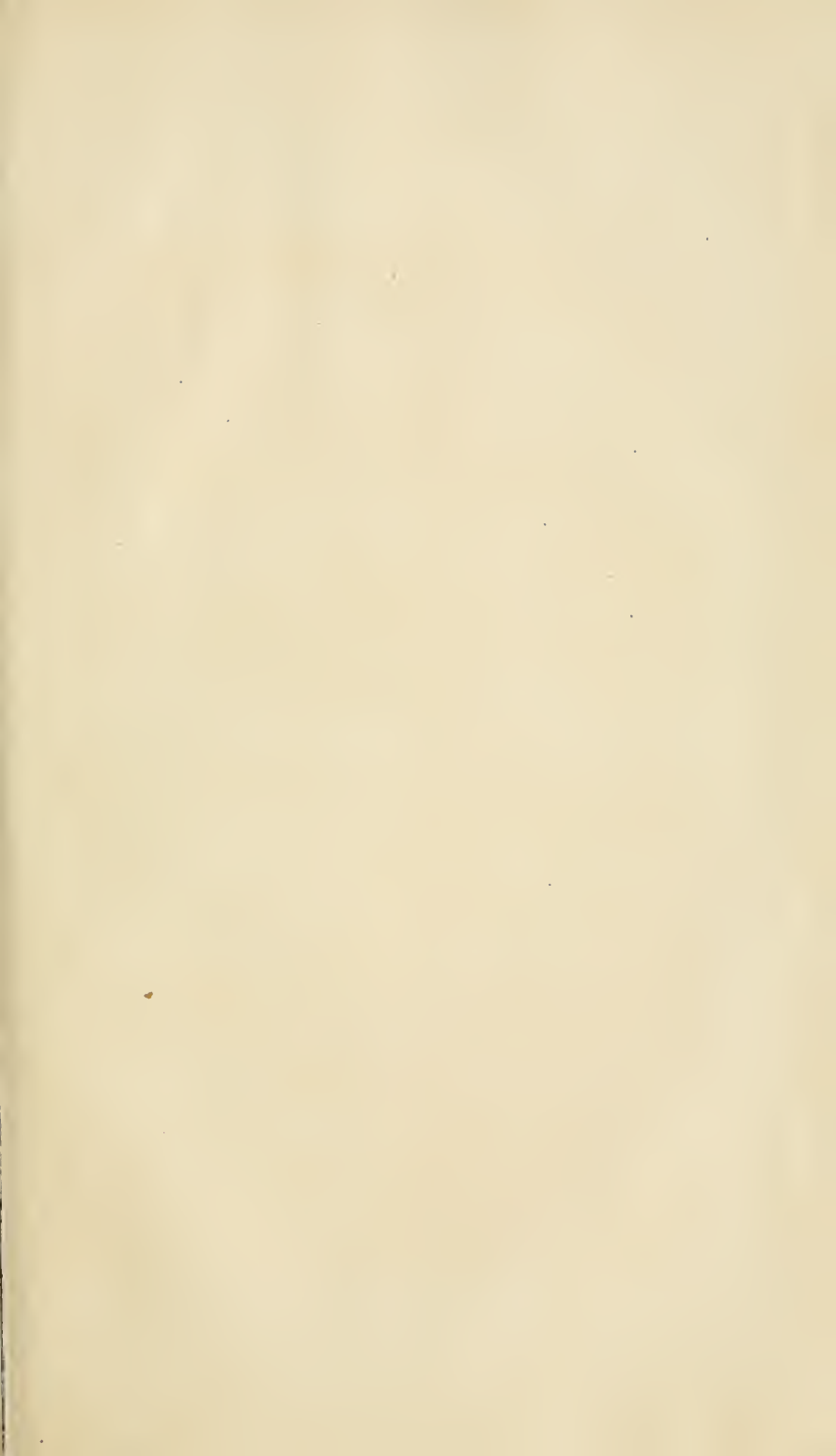
MR. DANIEL FENTON.

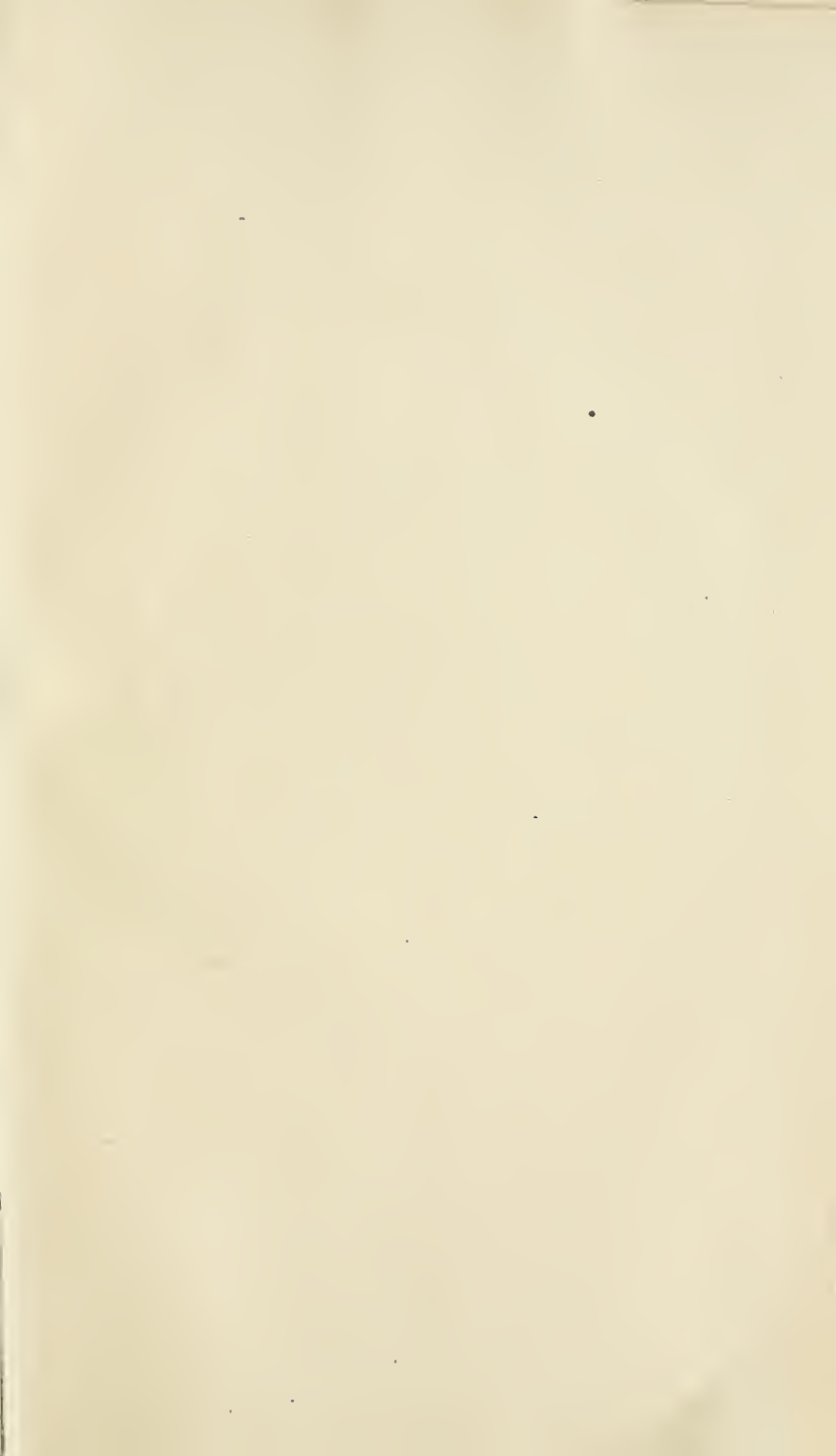
DR. HAGERMAN.

MR. JOSEPH OLDEN.

DIRECTORS,
OR
HONORARY MANAGERS.

HIS EXCELLENCY ISAAC H. WILLIAMSON.
HIS HONOUR ANDREW KIRKPATRICK.
THE HONOURABLE RICHARD STOCKTON.
THE HONOURABLE THEODORE FRELINHUYSEN.
THE HONOURABLE LEWIS CONDUCT.
HIS HONOUR WILLIAM ROSSELL.
HIS HONOUR GABRIEL FORD.
DAVID THOMSON, ESQ.
SAMUEL BAYARD, ESQ.
CHARLES EWING, ESQ.
WILLIAM CRUSER, ESQ.
REV. DR. JOHN WOODHULL.
REV. DR. JOHN LIVINGSTON.
REV. DR. SAMUEL MILLER.
REV. DR. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER.
REV. DR. JAMES CARNAHAN.
REV. DR. JOHN MACDOWELL.
REV. DR. ASA HILLYER.
REV. DAVID COMFORT.
REV. ISAAC V. BROWN.
REV. WILLIAM C. BROWNLEE.





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